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## II.—PRO DOMO MEA.

### PART II.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXVII 72.]

#### B. *The Nasal Verb Flexion.*<sup>1</sup>

5. *Etymology.* IE.  $\sqrt{n\bar{e}y-}$ , **a.** 'ducere, trahere, ferre', etc., in Indo-Iranian *náyati* (*náyate*); **b.** specialized as 'ducere (trahere) lanam' > 'nere' in European tongues; **c.** intrans. 'ducere', like Germ. (*sich*) *ziehen*, Lat. (*se*) *agit*; **d.** inchoative-diminutive = 'takes-to, incipit', etc. (§ 20 c).

6. *Inflexion.* **a.** (*s*)*nē(i)mi*, *nē(i)si*, *nē(i)ti* (cf.  $\xi-v\eta$  'span', possibly Lat. *nēs net*); plur. *nə(i)mós*, etc., and in composition *-n[ə]mos* (cf. Av. *fryq-nmahī*, *fryq-* being from \**priyom-*, §§ 7 a, 10). **b.** sg. *nəmi*, *nəsi*, *nəti*, cf. Lat. *do-dās*, *dāt*, as found in compounds like *trādo*, etc., and Celtic *-nami -nati* in the nasal verbs (Thurneysen, Gr. § 592). **c.** *nēmi neti*, by influence of *a* on *b*, cf. Skr. *tí-ṣṭhati*, Lat. *sistit*, and the flexion of *cer-nis cer-nit*. **d.** *nēyō nēyeti*, cf. Lith. *spėjū*, etc., ap. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 3. § 136, Lat. *neo nēs net*; perhaps also *nēyeti* by influence of *a* on *f*. Note the abnormal (?) accent of Skr. *chāyāti* 'cuts up'. **e.** *-nōyō -nōyeti*, like  $\xi\acute{o}\omega \acute{\rho}\acute{o}\sigma\mu\alpha\iota \theta\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  (:  $\theta\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ), cf.  $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota-\rho\acute{o}\omega$  below. **f.** *nəyēti* in Skr. *náyati* (secondary accent). **g.** *-nyēti*, like Skr. *chyāti dyāti syāti*. In AV. II. 7. 4 *nyā-s* may well mean 'dux'; cf. *rāja-nyàs* (like *uda-nyà-*, § 14 c), prius < *rāj-ṇ*: *rāján-* 'regimen'.

7. *Reduction in the priora.* **a.** An IE. group like \**budhí nēti* (Skr. infin. *budh-i*, § 4 b<sup>1</sup>) or \**búdhm nēti*, if run together when the force that produced the zero vowel-grade was active, would have yielded \**budhnēti*. Or *m* < *om* is admissible under these conditions. **b.** The combination *mrr-i-nēti* would likewise have yielded an allegro \**mṛnēti* (= Skr. *mṛṇāti*, cf.  $\text{çr}[u]-\text{ṇóti}$ . Lat. *cer-nit* is from \**kr-ī-nēti*, cf. OHG. (*h*)*l-ī-*

<sup>1</sup> See AJPh. 25, 369-389; 26, 172-203, 377-408; 32, 407, § 9. Bulletin of the University of Texas, no. 263), § 84 sq.

*nēn* 'clinare'.<sup>1</sup> Likewise a loc. *mn̄ni* or *-mn-i* would reduce to *mn̄-* (or lento *m[n]i-*) as in Balto Slavic *\*mi-nē* (§ 9). *c.* Aeolic *πώ-νω*<sup>2</sup> 'bibō' and Skr. *j[ñ]ā-nāti* (inchoative, § 5 d) have a prius of the type of Av. *pōi* 'defendere' (*ōi* not necessarily = IE. *-ā\**), Skr. (*parā-*)*dāi*. With the prius of *πῆ-νω* cf. Av. infin. *fra-xšnī* (*ī* or *ī*); *-ī* is from *-āi*, reduction form of *-ōi* (Bartholomae, Gr. Ir. Phil. 1, §§ 217, 219 b). Here (*in*)*clīnai* belongs. From *\*sthā[i]-nēti* we get *\*sthā-nēti* in Lat. *de-stinat* (cf. OIr. *con-osnaim* <*con-od-stānā-*), but in OPruss. *po-stānimai stā*, unless due to recomposition, will be a lento form like *πω-* (*πώ-νω*). Also, under proper conditions, *\*sthā-nēti* would reduce to *-stnēti*.<sup>3</sup>

8. *Proof of 7 ab.* *δάμ-νημι*: prius *dm̄mi-*, loc. infin. of *√dem* 'to bind' in *κρή-δεμνον* 'headstall'. Cf. Lat. *dām[i]nare* 'to (bind,) punish' (*ā* as in *maneo*): Skr. *damā-s* 'poena', *damana-m* 'bestrafung' (? Germ. *strafe*: *στρεβλός* 'twisted'). Lat. (*con-*)*sternat*, prius *str-i-* 'zur starrheit' (cf. Plautine *timore torpeo*) + *nayēti* (see below).

9. *Proof of IE. -nē(y)-.* Besides OBulg. infin. *mī-ně-ti* (*mī-njā* with *-ny-* as in 6, g.) = Lith. *mi-nė-ti* (*mi-* as in 7 b; see further on *-nē-*, § 20) we have OHG. *stor-nēm* 'zur starrheit ziehe' (§ 5 c; cf. AJPh. 25, 386 q.) = *stupeo* ("attonitus sum"), with original *ē* (now fictitiously explained as analogical) or *ē* < *āi* (see Brugmann, Gr.<sup>2</sup> 1. § 272). The Greek dialects entirely fail to certify *-nā-* for *δάμνημι*, etc., but all the *-vā-* forms belong to *δαμνάω*, etc. (*-vā-* after *όρᾶω*, into which *ā*

<sup>1</sup> In *κίρ-νημι* *πίλνα-μαι* metathesis of *κρι- πλι-* after *κεράννυμι* *πελάζω*. (*πίτρυνημι* < *\*πτ-ι-νημι*?).

<sup>2</sup> For the combination of *\*pōi* 'bibere' with *\*nēy* 'ducere' note Lat. *ducit* 'quaffs, bibit'; recalling the other minute correspondence between Skr. *náyati* and Lat. *ducit*, as in the marriage ritual; also *carmen* (*epos*) *ducere* with *ukthāni* + *nī* § 10.

<sup>3</sup> The conditions portrayed in § 7 are, in a sense, the general conditions of vowel gradation, but the reduction of a group to a word might seem to have more far-reaching consequences. That language of most even stress, Greek, reduces *τούτω* before *-ί* to *τουτωί* (Aristophanes). Under like conditions there was vowel syncope in *δάμ[ι]-νημι* (§ 8) and *μαν[ι]-θάνω* (§ 31). The reduction of *piora* in *-ā\** (y) presents all the stages of vowel reduction now recognized for "roots" or "bases" in *-āxy*. Of course, no "root" or "basis" ever existed and my combinations reveal, glimpse-like, how (among other things) "roots" are case forms.

may likewise have been introduced from *-vāw* verbs); *-vāw* by 6 f. In *consternās -nāmus -nātis ā* may be a contraction of *āyō āyē* (*aes: aēnus* different in rhythm and accent); or original *-nō -nāt -nāmus -nānt* (like *dō dāt dāmus dānt*, § 6 b) may have followed the quantity pattern of *stō stās (dās) stāt stāmus stātis stānt*.

10. *Proof of ai/i.* Av. *vərə-naēta* 'chose' = Skr. *á-vrñīta* (Gr. Iran. Phil. 1, § 46; note, after J. Schmidt and pace Bartholomae, l. c., *n[ə]* in Gāthic *vərə-n-tē* 'chooses', § 132; cf. *friyā-n-mahī* after § 6 a and *çr[u]-nōti*, § 7 b), in the which *-nī-* has been blandly disqualified, but see the data for OPruss. *-nāi-* (Bezzenberger in KZ. 41, 93) and connect *ai* in Goth. *kun-naiþ* (: Skr. *jānāti*, § 7 c). These widely separated sporadic manifestations of *-nāi-* are not to be voided (pace Brugmann, Gr. 2, 3, § 212, anm.) by a glozing appeal to other *ai* (*ai oi*) forms, for which, rather, the *-nāi-* forms provide a reliable etymological source. In view of the inchoative note in the nasal verbs, e. g. *kunnaiþ* = 'noscit' (for Germanic, see Braune's Got. Gram.<sup>3</sup>, § 194<sup>1</sup>; supra, § 5 d); and inasmuch as our original verb was (*s*)*nēy-*:—Umbr. *per-snimu* 'precator, po s c ito' is to be derived from a primate *prē-i-* (*-i-* lost by § 7 a; *er* as in Av. *parštā* 'interrogare', OHG. *fērgōn*; also in Umbr. *pe-perscusi*) + *snēy-/snī*, cf. on Av. *parāsa-nyeiti* 'interrogat' § 14 i. Skr. *√nī* is idiomatically employed with words meaning 'carmen' (= Skr. *nī-thá-m*), e. g. *ukthāni*. Goth. *fraih-na-n* comes from IE. *prē-k(i)-nā-* (prius = Lat. *prece*) 'zur frage ziehen'; cf. allegro *πυκνός*: lento *πυκ-ι-νός* (prius: *πύκ-α*) 'close-drawn'. Note Skr. *√nī* with *anu* = *precari*.

11. *The nāw/nū verbs.* Besides its applicability to the *nē(y)/nī* verbs my theory of composition also accounts for the verbs in (*s*)*vμi* (AJPh. 25, 387<sup>2</sup>), from the parallel root (*s*)*nēw-* (*snēy-w-?*).<sup>1</sup> The *nēy* and *nēw* suffixes are interchangeable at will because they are different flexion forms of one root suffixally employed. In the *δέικ-vμi* type, also, the prius was an infinitive, *dēi-k-i* or *dēik-m* 'ad speciem' + *nāw-mi* 'duco'.

<sup>1</sup> Why should Walde s. v. *neo* credit to Marstrand my two years earlier explanation of Skr. *nī-v-i-s* (AJPh. 25, 373)? Note tautological (?) *nī-viā* (: *vāyas* 'web').

12. *Phraseological use of Skr. nī*. The rôle played by (s)nēy 'ducere' continued to be played by √nī in Sanskrit, as follows: *a. mṛtyāve niyate* (Vedic prose) = Morti ducitur. From *aliquem Neci* (dat.; *nece* loc.) *ducit* the sense of *a. necat* would derive. *b. duhitṛtve* (loc.) *nayati* (Epic.) = 'to daughterhood brings, makes a daughter of'. *c. váçam nayati* (RV.) = '<in> potentiam ducit' is typical of a large number of turns with terminal accusative, often amounting to periphrases for verbs; *nī + ativyṛddham* 'exaugescit'; + *abali-mānam* 'debilitat' (?); + *ādhānam* 'pledges' (?); + *ucchrāyam* 'auget'; + *kṣayam* 'necat' (cf. *φθί-vei*, intrans., § 5 c); + *duḥkham* quasi 'infortunat'; + *dvy-akṣaratām* 'makes two syllabled'; + *paritoṣam* 'delectat'; + *puṣṭim* 'auget'; + *çamam* 'quietat'; + *prasādam* 'delectat', cf. the gerundial *prasāda-nīya-s* 'delectans', perhaps with *-da* <-dm̐ ( §§ 7 a, 14 a; cf. Bull. § 87); + *bhasmasāt*<sup>1</sup> (advb.) 'cinefacit'; + *vi-kṛtim* 'mutat'; + *vikrayam* 'vendit' (cf. *krī-nāti* 'emit', according to § 7 c; Bull., § 86); + *vi-nāçam* 'necat' (see a), + *vy-ava-hāram* quasi 'causidicat'; + *vyāghratām* 'makes into a tiger'; + *vṛṇam* 'embarrasses'; + *çamam* 'tranquillat' (cf. *çama-nīya-s* 'tranquillans'); + *çūdratām* 'makes a peon of'; + *saṁ-rabham* '<in> iracundiam ducit'; + *samatām* 'aequiperat'; + *sākṣyam* 'testem facit' (cf. in ius ducito), In Avestan we find *təm vā ahūm . . . naēšat* = <in> eam vos vitam ducat.

13. *Parallels with Germ. ziehen* (= ducere); zu rate-, zur verantwortung-, in zweifel-; nutzen-; krumm- (and virtually intrans., sich k. z.), vollziehen; den atem ziehen = atmen; sich ins gelbliche z., s. in die länge z.; s. zurecht z.

14. *Compounds, often factitive, in -n(ə)yēti* (§ 6 fg.): *a. Skr. iṣ-a-ṇayanta*<sup>2</sup> = ad celeritatem ducebant (= accelera-bant): *iṣ-a-ṇyati*. But *ιαίρω* = 'liquefacio, calefacio'. Prius IE. *iṣ-m*, acc. to the noun in Skr. *iṣ-* 'erquickung; liquor' (sucus, saft) *iṣa-ṇyā-* 'impetus' is post verbal. Loc. infin. *iṣa-nī* 'to pour': *\*iṣm-nā* 'liquori-ductio'. In RV. √nī is

<sup>1</sup>Also used with *kar*. Apte remarks of *nī* in his lexicon: "bring or reduce to a state or condition . . . in this sense used . . . much in the same way as *kr*".

<sup>2</sup>Hyphenation responsive to Sanskrit lexical usage instead of to mere morphological theory.

common with objects meaning 'aqua' (cf. *nī-ra-m* water), as *ducere* is in Latin; *ava* +  $\sqrt{nī}$  = 'abgiessen' (? *avá-ni-s* 'water course'), *ā* and *nī* + *nī* = 'eingiessen'; *pra-nīta* = holy water.—**b.** Skr. *dhiṣ-a-nyántas* quasi 'curantes': *dhiṣ-* quasi 'cura'; note the allegro adjective *dhiṣ[a]-nya-* (§ 7 a).—**c.** *uda-nyāti*. prius acc. n. *udn-* as in *uda-dhī-s* 'water-holder' (or 'giver' = cloud, spring)<sup>1</sup>; *uda-nyās* (*dhārās*) = aquam-ducetes (fluvii); *uda-nyān* (*abhriyas*) = a.-d. (>nubes.) The current division, *udan-yāti*, etc., was made without lexicographic consideration<sup>2</sup> (cf. a).—**d.** Skr. *ṛt-a-nyāti*: prius *ṛt-a-*, accus. to Indo-Iranian \**ṛt-*<sup>3</sup> (Skr. loc. plur. *ṛtsú* 31°; once "reduplicated" (?) *ṛtsú-ṣu*; Av. gen. sg. *ṛrət-as*); *ṛt-a-nyāti* (*tvā*)<sup>4</sup> 'te <in> pugnam ducit'. Note for its long grade *ṛta-nāyú-s* 'hostilis, hostis' (-*nāyú-*<sup>5</sup>: *nāyá-s* 'dux' [cf. *daṇḍa-nāya-ka-s* 'strafrichter'] :: *upāyú-* 'appropinquans': *upāya-s* 'aditus') and *ṛtanyú-s* 'hostis'; *ṛt-a-nāyántam* (accent as in *chāyāti*, § 6 d ?) 'pugnantem'; post verbal *ṛta-nā*, 1) exercitus hostilis (= pugnam-infērens), 2) 'pugna' (<quasi 'incursio'). The Avesta has *ṛšanā/ṛšana-m*. With Skr. *ṛtanājam* 'proelium-agentem' (equum) compare Avestan *yaθa azāni ṛšana* = ut agam proelia. The good fortune that has preserved forms of the moribund monosyllable *ṛt-* (on the tendency of monosyllables to vanish, see Bull. § 10) enables us very clearly to trace the course of composition (derivation) down to *ṛtanā*. In some of the following, also, the monosyllabic stem of the priora in -a- (<*m/n*>) has been preserved.—**e.** *brahma-nyánt* 'praying', prius *brāhma* (acc. sg.) 'hymn, prayer'.—**f.** *ukṣa-nyántas* (RV. 8. 27. 9) means ad-augendum (pass. sense) <nos> agentes and not "doing like oxen"; prius \**ukṣṇ-* quasi 'increase'.—

<sup>1</sup> In *uda-pū-* 'im wasser sich reinigend' and *uda-ṛt-* 'im wasser schwimmend' the prius *udn* (? *n* <*an* before the accent, § 7 a) may be for the suffixless locative (cf. e. g. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. § 185. 4).

<sup>2</sup> It is curious that even *uda-nvánt* (with *rāthas* = water-bringing car) may contain a posterius -*nvent-* (type of Skr. *ṛi-nvati* 'fattens'), cf. *ṛóα · πηγῇ, ἔννοιαι · πηγῇ*. In *garta-nvánt-* (: *garta-* 'ditch') *māmsa-nvánt* (: *māmsa-* 'flesh') and *vána-nvant* 'desirous' the element -*nvant* 'ducens, portans' seems further to have been assimilated to the possessive suffix in -*va*<*n*>*t* (TAPA, 44, 121).

<sup>3</sup> Or n. \**ṛt-an-*, cf. Av. *zavan-* 'cry' in § 14 n below.

<sup>4</sup> To this might be added an accus. of the weapon.

<sup>5</sup> Reduced to -*nyū-* in *karma-nyū-* 'agilis', *sara-nyū-* 'celer'.

**g.** *vṛṣ-a-nyāti* (RV. 9. 5. 6) is said of Soma (Bacchus) as bringer of the rain (drops) of soma (vinum); prius *\*vṛṣ-ṇ-* (*vṛṣṇ-*) 'rain'. In 9. 19. 5, *kuvid vṛṣ-a-nyanīḥbhyah . . gárbham ādadhat* (nonne vaccis liquorem-ferentibus fetum dedit?), Soma is declared to have put in calf the cloud-cows. The interpretation of *f* and *g* by 'bulling' (subans) came by "disease of language".<sup>1</sup>—**h.** Sundries (cf. *c* end). *kṛp-a-nyāti* 'cupit' (*kṛp*<sup>2</sup>: *kṛp-ā* 'compassion' :: loc. ἀλκ-ί: ἀλκή 'strength'); *kṛp-a-ṇanta*, posterius after § 6 *c*; *kṛpāṇam* 'miseria' (postverbal)—*tur-a-nyāti* 'festinat' (*túr* 'festinans', \*nom. ag.<sup>3</sup> 'festinatio'). *turāṇa-s* (postverbal).—*dam-a-nyāti* 'constrains, forces': \**dam-* = *dama-m* 'constraint, poena'; *damana-s* 'bändiger' (postverbal).—*bhur-a-nyāti*: 1) (factitive) 'in wallende bewegung versetzen', 2) (intrans.) 'se movere' (cf. § 5 *c*).—*riṣ-a-nyāti* (intrans.) 'geht auf schaden aus' > 'defaults'; prius: *riṣ-* 'schaden' (also 'schädiger'<sup>3</sup>), dat. infin. *riṣ-é*.—*ruv-a-nyāti* 'cries out', prius acc. to lexical *ru-* 'sonus'.—*sar-a-nyāti* 'speeds', prius from a root-noun \**sar-* (: *sirā* <'wasser->lauf'; *sar-a-ṇa-s* 'laufend', postverbal).—*huv-a-nyāti* 'calls', prius *hu<v>-a-* (acc.): (*ā*)-*hū-* ('an-)ruf' (cf. Lat. *su-em*: ἔν); or *huv-ṇ-*: Av. *zavan-* 'call'.—**i.** In the *Avesta* the entire stock of *anya*-verbs is represented by (1) *pərəs-a-nyeiti* 'interrogat' (prius acc. *pərəs-a-*: n. sg. *pərəsā* :: ἀλκ-ί: ἀλκή); (2) *zar-a-ni-mnəm* ('irascens'): Vedic *hr-ṇīyā-māna-s* (cf. *ā-hrṇā-na-s*, i. e. \**ā-hrṇā-[m]nas*), act. *hr-ṇāyānta-m* (accent like *chāyāti* § 6 *d*)—cf. *pṛt-a-nāyāntam* (§ 14 *d*), *hrṇāyú-*: *pṛt-a-nāyú-*—with *hr-* for *hr-i-* (§ 7 *b*), while *zar-a-* is from \**ḡhrr-m* (flexion type of Skr. acc. *gír-am*).

15. *Greek factitives in -αινω*. Besides the accus. prius in *ἰαίνω* (§ 14 *a*) dat.-loc. priora in *-ai* (*-ai*) are to be admitted. The *-veω* future of these verbs may contain *nēyeti* (§ 5 *d*). The capacity of a present to function as a future will not be challenged by knowers of English or colloquial Latin (*εἶμι*).—

<sup>1</sup> The other day C. H. F., aged 5, told me a story of the creation of tomatoes by some breaking up or dissection of tomato-bugs. A *settee* he explained as a place "to set tea".

<sup>2</sup> Original sense something like 'shout, outcry': Lat. *crepitus*; cf. lexical *kṛpa-ṇya-s* 'laudator'.

<sup>3</sup> There is a wide range of nouns that indifferently designate action or agent, so that in complexes we may expect either function, even though in isolation only one function survives.

**a.** *φαί-ναι*: defined by "brings to light" (Liddell and Scott) and "bringt ans licht" (Menge), prius IE. dat.-loc. *bhāi* or *bhāi*, cf. Skr. *bhā-* 'light'; *ῥᾱ-νῶ* (*ῥᾱνέρος*, post-Homeric) may be analogical; *ῥᾱ-νός* 'torch' may be from *\*bhām-nós* ('lucifer'); but *ῥᾱ-νή* 'torch' has *ᾱ < om* (reduced before the accent, § 7 a), cf. Skr. *khā-* 'well': *khā-m* 'hole'; Hom. *φαί-ναι* 'brings light', prius *φαφες*.—**b.** *κράϊ-νω*: *κραι-* from a noun *\*krā-* 'factio'; the "distracted" form *κράϊ-αί-νω* (see also § 21 c) contains either a dative *\*krā-y-ai* (cf. Skr. absolutive *upa-sthā-yam*: infin. *sthā-m*; a stem *\*krā-yā-* would be made like Skr. *māyā* 'a magic making', *chāyā* 'umbra', *jāyā* 'wife', cf. Av. *tāya-* 'furtum', *gāya-* 'pace, step') + *νω* etc., (§ 6 a, c); or an accusative (*a < m*, or *-ām*) + *-nyéti* (§ 6 g).—**c.** *θερμαίνει* 'makes hot' (cf. §§ 12, 13), prius dat.-loc. to *θέρμη* 'heat' (cf. *ἐχθραί-νω*: *ἐχθρη*).—**d.** *λείαίνει* 'to smoothness brings'; prius dat.-loc. to *λείη* (not attested as abstract); or acc. (or dat.-loc.): IE. *\*lēwi-s* 'smoothness' (: *λείος* :: Lat. *rāvis* 'hoarseness': adj. *rāvos*; cf. fem. *pronis* [Varro ap. Non.]: *pronus*; Lith. *i-* abstracts and Latin neuters like *pingue* 'fat, fatness'), primate *\*lēwy-m-nyéti*.—**e.** *λυμαί-νε-ται* (middle, as Skr. *náyate* often is) 'outrages'; prius: *λύμη* 'outrage'.—**f.** *λιπαί-ναι* 'anoints'; cf. advb. *λίπ-α* (from a cognate acc. = an anointing), which preserves a monosyllable stem.—**g.** *πῖαί-ναι* 'fattens'; prius, if contracted, : *\*pias* (cf. Skr. *pīvas-*, *kréas*: Skr. *kravis*—), *πῖαπ*; or: IE. *pī-wī*<sup>1</sup> (cf. on *λείαί-νω*).—**h.** *μαί-ναι* 'pollutes', prius from IE. *mī-* (cf. *pada-vīyam* acc. of *padavī* 'pedis-via' (*via*: *-vī*?) or *mīyā* (cf. Skr. *bhiyās-* 'pavor': *Vbhēy*): *Vmēy* (see Walde s. v. *mingō*, end), cf. the Vedic ritual word *go-māya-s* 'cow-dung' (*-māya-*: *\*miyā*: Skr. *bhayā*: *bhiyās-*. On *μα-νός* see § 30).

16. **a.** Not even the stalking horse *ὄνομαίνω* is certainly from

<sup>1</sup>The Vedic adjective *pīva-s* (: *pīvan-*) recurs in *πῖότερος πῖοτατος*: *πῖων*. Lat. *pīus* 'good' is postverbal to the Italic sept "*piare*" 'to sacrifice' (cf. *piaculum*), originally = 'to offer fat', as in the Homeric sacrifices. Perhaps *\*pīyā-* 'fat' is preserved in Skr. *pī[yā]-yūṣ-a-* 'biestings'. (Cl. Qt. 9, 105), but predominantly of the "cream" of the Soma offering; *-yūṣ-a-*: Lat. *iūs*. On Skr. *pī* 'to be fat' see the handbooks, noting *πῖ-μελή* 'soft fat'. In Latin, cognates of Skr. *páyate* and *sphāyate* (if themselves different) would fall together (cf. *pīvaḥ-sphāká-s* 'fat-swelling'). For the generalized sense of *pīus* cf. *λιπαρός* 'oily': *λιπαρός* 'importunate in prayer, pious'.



\**ονομῆν-γδ*, but may rather be from *ὀνομη* + *nyδ*, cf. *nunciŕo*, Germ. *namen führen*. If we give to *ὄνομα* (? suffixless locative), as we must to Skr. *nāma*, the syntactical value of Lat. *nōmine*, Homeric *δῶρ' ὀνομήνω* (*-ην-<αν[ε]s-*) will mean 'nomine ducam' (for 'n. numerem'<sup>1</sup>). Goth. *nam-nyan*, if of IE. provenance, is from an allegro *nōm[n]-nyeti*, while *glit-mun[n]jan* 'candere' (intrans., § 5 c) is from a lento form in *-n-nyéti*. So *lauhmū[n]ni* 'lightning' comes, excep. excip., from *\*lauhmū + nī* quasi 'lumen-ducens'.—**b.** *ἐλεεινός* 'drawing to pity, piteous', postverbal to *\*ἐλεείνω*, contains a locative to *ὁ ἔλεος*, or, if from *\*ἐλεεσ-vos*, to *\*ἐλεφος* (τὸ ἔλεος, NT.).—**c.** *ἐρεείνω* 'ask' will be similarly built upon a noun *\*ἐρεφο-s*: *Verew-*.—**d.** *ἐρευνάω* contains a locative prius *\*erēu* to a noun *erū-* (§ 19), of the same sept.

17. The "infix" nasal verbs<sup>2</sup>: *ὑφαί-νω*. The prius is *ὑφαί-*: *ὑφή* 'web', the whole = 'draws to a web, weaves'. Skr. *unābh-* 'to confine'—i. e. 'obstringere, compe[c]scere' (cf. AJPh. 25, 183), see also Grassmann PW<sup>1+2</sup> Uhlenbeck—gives a clear insight<sup>3</sup> into the origin of the so-called *ne*-infix.<sup>4</sup> IE. (*e*)*nebh-* is certified by *νεφέλαι*<sup>5</sup> 'bird-net' *nebula* 'veil' (AJPh. 25, 380) and with great clearness by *ῥῆνα-νᾶβῃς* 'wool-spinner' (= spider, also called *tantu-nābha-s*; falso ap. Wackernagel ai. gr. 2, 11, "wool-navel"!); cf. *ῥῆνα-νᾶβῃς* 'spider'. A root *ũ-* 'to spin, weave' also is found in Skr. *u-tā-s* 'woven' *ūti-s* 'web'. The analysis of 3<sup>d</sup> sg. impf. *unap* 'he fettered' as a complex of *ũ + nebh-* is therefore scarcely to be questioned.

<sup>1</sup> How long before etymologists realize that the *ὄνομα*- sept is not to be separated from the *numerus*-sept (AJPh. 31, 413<sup>3</sup>); and learn from the folklore prejudice against definite names and numbers how to connect *ὄνομαι* 'I scold' (from a briefer "root" than *enem-*) with *ὄνομα*. Think of the "naming" of the Speaker of the House of Commons. In the Tennessee mountains they "name it to you".

<sup>2</sup> See also AJPh. 25, 370 c; 26, 395 sq.; 32, 407; TAPA, 41, 36; Bull. § 84 sq.

<sup>3</sup> On the blended stem in Skr. *tr-nah-* 'to crush' see AJPh. 25, 370.

<sup>4</sup> It is needless to dwell on the absurdity of a floating *ne*, settling about almost at will, particularly in the *āxi āxu* bases. For the casual, i. e. infinitival, nature of *āxi* see Bull. § 55'; of *āxu* § 19, below.—The "infixes" of Basque and other incorporating tongues, with their precise semantic or syntactic values, are not to be compared. For the casual nature of infixed *-n-* see § 22 etc.; 29 below.

<sup>5</sup> The metaphoric sense of 'cloud' is predominant.

17 a. By rejecting the root *nebh* (: IE. *nē* :: *webh*: *wē* 'weave') anybody is competent, of course, to put in a cursory demurrer to the blended "root" *unebh* and to deny, what I hold to be certain, that in the sept of *vépos* the sense of 'cloud' has derived from 'veil'. The same demurrant should be competent also to deny that the roots *snēy* and *snēw* are parallel; cf. Lat. *neo* (<\**nēyō*): pf. *nēv-i* (an excellent starting point, be it said in passing, for the Latin *-vi* perfects) :: *vépos*: Lat. *nūbes*. I would now formulate the development of the *unabh* type by a different syncretism, and my formulation, as I now see, has been already prepared for by Brugmann's observations in the *Grundriss* (2, 3, 226). Skr. *mṛṇāti* 'crushes' and Lat. *li-nit* 'smears' reveal an IE. present formation consisting of the reduced root + *né-*. This entitles us to posit an Indo-Iranian \**unāti* 'weaves' (: Skr. *utá-* 'woven') alongside of a root class middle \**ubh-té* (assimilation disregarded). Further like pairs are \**yunāti* (lexical *yunāti*) 'jungit': Skr. *yuk-té*; \**trṇāti* 'bores' (cf. *τόρνος* 'borer'): \**tr-d-té* and again to \**tr-ḡh-té* (>\**trdhé*); \**chināti* 'cuts' (Épic Impf. *a-chinam*): \**chit-te*; Skr. *mṛṇāti* 'destroys': \**mṛ-k-té* 'nocet'. By syncretism of \**yunāti* and *yukté* came *yunákti* and so on. On the derivation of the weak forms *chindánti*, etc. see § 29 a.

18. Skr. *ubhāú*: Lat. *ambo*. *ubhāú* is a dual of a primate *ubhó-* quasi 'ply', and as a dual = 'dupli'. Similarly *ambo* is from the root *enebh-* (on *am-*: *ene-* see TAPA, 41, 46<sup>2</sup>); cf. Skr. *ándhas-* 'darkness' from *enedh-*<sup>1</sup> (*ib.* p. 52): *-εν-ήνοθε* 'covered' (CR, 13, 400).

19. a. *Factitives in -ῶνω* (*-ῶνυō* is possible). Homer has *ἀμαλδύνειν βαθύνειν βαρύνειν εὐρύνειν ἰθύνειν καρτύνεσθαι* and *θαρσύν-*

<sup>1</sup>The cognates (derivatives) of (*s*)*nēy-* 'nere' frequently show a prosthetic *e-*, e. g. *enek-* (TAPA, 41, 31 sq.; IF. 33, 351), in Skr. *aṁṣu-ka-m* 'vestis': Hom. *ἔντρα* 'trappings' (AJPh. 34, 19'). The sense 'necare' (TAPA, 41, 37) tended to obscure the sense 'vincire'. For the "fettors" of death observe not merely generalities like *Lethaea vincula* (Horace, C. 4. 7. 28), but specific ritual texts like AV. 8, 8, 10 sq. (*mṛtyu-pāçá* = later *kāla-pāca-*). For the ritual see Caland, *ai. Todten- u. Bestattungsgebräuche* p. 14 (§ 7); p. 165 (§ 15); cf. p. 172, top; 173, § 11). The fetters were a precaution against *revenants*, but the figure may also have applied to the binding on of the grave-clothes. The Vedic god of death, *Yamá-*, was a 'binder' (Cl. Qt. 9, 109). On the Avesta ritual-binding of the corpse see IF. 11, 120-121 (translated).

veiv,<sup>1</sup> all to *u*-adjectives. The priora in *v̄* (futures in *v̄*, if certified, will be analogy futures) are (1) identical with Skr. *ū* adverbs (*ṛj̄h̄* + *kar* Vedic; *tanū* + *kar* cf. § 12 c'); or (2) locatives in *v̄* like Skr. *camh̄ tanh̄* (: nouns in *-ūs*, see Macdonnell, Ved. gr. § 385); or (3) neuters in *-ū* (*-ūnw* from *-ūnyō*, cf. τὸ θρασύ, τὸ μὴ ἡδύ, Skr. *vásu* 'reichtum', neut. of *vásu-s* 'bonus'), also *ásu-s* 'life', *āyu* 'life' (: *āyu-s* 'homo, genius vitae'), Av. *sanghu-* 'doctrina', *γῆρυ-s* 'vox', Skr. *āh̄h̄-s* 'anruf'.—**b.** But *τορύ-vei* 'stirs' (< 'draws with a ladle, stirrer') may have an instrum. prius from a primate *t(o)rū-*: Lat. *tru-a* 'ladle' (*τορύ-νῃ* postverbal).—**c.** Of the *-ēu* locative in *ἐρευ-νάω* remark has been made above.—**d.** In *ἐλαύ-vei* 'drives, prods' etc. *ἐλαυ-* is a locative from an action noun *\*elū-s* 'going' (cf. *vé-ηλυ-δ-*, nom. ag.), with *-av* < *əu*, a doublet of *ū* in Skr. *camh̄*.

20. Lithuanian verbs in *-neti* and *-noti*. **a.** OBulg. *mī-nēti*, Lettic *mī-nēt*, Lith. *mi-nē-ti* (fut. *mi-nēsiu* [*-nēsiu* : *Vnēy* :: Skr. fut. *dāsyāti* : *√dā*], aor. *mi-nēyāu*) have a clear case of *ē* in the posterius; for the prius *m̄n-*[*i*] or *m[n]-i*<sup>2</sup> see § 7 b.—**b.** Save by me in AJPh. 25, 386, the large group of Lithuanian verbs in *-nēti* seems not to have been brought into connection with the nasal classes, to which, as *mī-nēti* shows, they clearly belong. They fall into two types: i. *vēz-i-nēti*, prius = Skr. *vāh-i-* in *vāh-i-ṣṭhas*, see AJPh. 31, 410, §§ 19, 20; Lat. *\*rēg-s* 'ruling': *rēx* 'ruler': Skr. *rājān* 'ductio': *rājān-* 'dux'; posterius *-nēti* 'ducere' (§ 6 a). In the more usual *vaz-i-nēti*, *vaz-i-* (also in Skr. *vā'h-i-ṣṭha-s*, § 4 a) is like *φοπ-ί* in Greek. If the symphysis took place in Lithuanian times *-i-* may be from IE. *i*. The formation is certainly paralleled by (*κτ-νέω* and) *ἀγτ-νέω* (cf. p. 294, τὸν δὲ . . . ἀγίνεσκον . . . αἶγας ἔπι =

<sup>1</sup> Fraenkel, Gr. Denom. 30, lets all these start from *θάρσυνος* 'confidens', which is mere algebra. *θάρσυνος*, quantity after *πίσυνος*, is postverbal. Nor is *πίσυνος* credibly derived from *πείθω*, but it is for (ἐ) *πίσυνος* (: *σεύω*, Skr. *√cyu-*), first meaning 'having rushed to', with sense generally similar to Eng. 'appealing to', 'resorting to', 'rallying to', 'relying on' (see Concise Oxī. Dict. s. v. *rely*), and markedly like Skr. *prāṭita-s* (lit. 'aditus' >) 'fretus, *πίσυνος*' (cf. PW<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 200, col. 3, top). In OPersian, forms of *š(i)yav-* (= Skr. *cyu-*) are defined by 'übergehen zu, jemand's partei ergreifen' (Bartholomae, Wbch. 1714. 2). *θρασύς* already meant 'audax' and suggested 'confisus' (Thucydides, 7. 77), and belongs with Skr. *dhār-ṣ-* 'audere', an extension of the root of *frētus*.

<sup>2</sup> The present *me-nū* owes its *e* to *menu* 'recorder, puto'.

eum <canem> agere solebant . . . in capreas). ii. *akli-nēti* 'blind umher irren' (i. e. ziehen, § 5 c): *ākla-s* 'blind' (cf. factitive *āklinu* 'caeco') *szvitri-nēti* 'albescere, candere' (: Skr. *ṣvitṛá-s* 'albus'): the priora are locatives in -i (<ei), of the *tolì*-type (see Wiedemann, Lit. gr. § 76), cf. *tolì-nu* 'ziehe in die ferne, remove' with *várg-i-nu* 'in miseriam duco' (: *vārga-s* 'miseria'), cf. Skr. *duḥkha-m nayāmi* (§ 12). The symphysis of these groups with locative priora (see on *μενοι-νώω* § 21) may not have taken place till the beginnings of Lithuanian.—c. The special sense of the -*nēti* verbs is that, like *ἀγτ-νέω*, they are frequentative (§ 5 d) and also diminutive. So in English *takes to* with action nouns in -ing (as in *takes to jumping*) means "begins, falls into the habit of, begins to busy oneself with" (Concise Oxf. Dict.), i. e. "*incipit*". This diminutive and frequentative sense also inheres in—d. Lith. *lynóti* 'to drizzle', where -*nóti* = 'incipit' (§ 6 e), and *ly-* is a locative in -ī (§ 7 c; cf. on *ἀγτ-νέω*) to the root in *lě-ti* 'to pour'.<sup>1</sup>

21. ΜΕΝΟΙΝΩΩ<sup>2</sup> and Homeric *Diektasis*. a. The most profitable remark hitherto made about *μενοινώω* is that it owes its -ώω to the synonym *μαίμώω* 'valde cupio'. The truth is precisely the contrary. Our verb is a symphysis, in Greek times, of loc. *μενοι-* (cf. *ἦοι*[: *ῥός*] 'mane' and, for the o-vocalism, Lat. *tergore tempore* [Neue, Formenl. 2,649]) + *νώω* (§ 6 e), but in *μενοι-νήησι* we have -*νηω* (§ 6 d). The sense was 'in mentem duco'; a verb of feeling as Lat. (*in*) *animum induco*<sup>3</sup> is a verb of thought (cf. Skr. *mānas* 'voluntas', *μένος* 'ira, ardor'). We also have *animo ducebam* (rebarque futurum, Aeneid). With *μενοι-νώω* cf. Epic Skr. *manasā yat pra-ñitam* = mente quod cupitum, *manah-pra-ñita-s* mente-cupitus, *mano-nītas* 'chosen' (cf. *anu* + *nī* 'precor', § 10).

<sup>1</sup> In the first edition of the Grundriss (II, § 60 C) Brugmann connected the -no- of *lynóti* with -*νημι*, seeing (correctly, as I doubt not) in the *lynóti* type a possible starting point for the denominatives in -*óti*. But now the wide extension of -*óti* in denominatives seems to have blinked his earlier vision.

<sup>2</sup> The forms of record are A *μενοι-νώω* (N 79); B (from \**μενοινάω*), 2d sg. *μενοι νᾶς* (8°), 3d sg. *μενοι νᾶ* (3°), but *μενοι νάα* (T 164), ptc. *μενοι νῶν* (O 293), impf. 3d sg. *μενοί νᾶ* (3°), 3d pl. *μενοί-νεον* (ε!, M 59), C. *μενοινῆησι* (O 82).

<sup>3</sup> Is Lat. *moneo* from loc. *mo[ni]* + -*neo* = 'in-mentem <alienam> duco'? Cf. § 20 (*φοπ-ι*).

The sense of *μενοι-νώ* is given in Sanskrit by loc. *manasi* + *kar* or *ni-dhā*; also note *manas* + *kar* (*dhā, yuj-*) 'animadverto'. Instr. *manasā* + *gam* (quasi 'mente ire') = 'to think of' etc.; *m.* +  $\sqrt{n\bar{i}}$  would amount only to a causative of *m.* +  $\sqrt{gam}$ .—**b.** The posteriora *-νώ* *-νήω* *-νῶ* (<*-νᾶω* < *-ναγῶ*, § 6 f) are all equally original, and were kept alive for their different rhythmic values in the epic. To interplay of *μενοινώω* on *μενοινᾶω* we owe *μαιμῶω*: *μαιμᾶω* and *ῥβῶοντες* (cf. *ζῶω*: \**ζᾶω*) for *ῥβᾶόντες*, *ὀρώοντες*<sup>1</sup> for *ὀρᾶόντες*. In *μενοίνεον* *ε* comes by § 6 d, or is due to the *ē* of *μενοινῆησι*. After the ratio of *μενοινῶν*: \**μενοινῶων* we account for *μενοινῶ*: *μενοινᾶα*.—**c.** Thus a sufficient number of patterns (*ωω ηη ᾶα*) for Homeric diektasis, the distractive assimilation of vowels, is supplied by the *μενοινῶω* group. See further on *κρααίνω* (§ 15 b), and other etymological patterns will appear below (§ 30). There was of course no real diektasis, no corrective metrical "distraction" (Wackernagel); and even the vowel assimilation of Leo Meyer and Hermann (l. s. c.) footed in these varying etymological patterns—a not improbable source of much that seems merely phonetic. **e.** In *δεια-νώνντο* (= in honorem ducunt) the prius *δεια-α* is an accusative; cf. Vedic instr. *dāṣ-ā* 'honore'.

22. **a. MENEAI-ΝΩ.** The prius is a localis (Bartholomae's dative-locative, Gr. Ir. Phil. 1, § 217; cf. Lat. *temperī* 'zur <rechten> zeit, χαμ-αί = *humī* [IF. 33, 359] 'to (or on) the ground'), from *menesai*; the whole = quasi 'cordi ducere' (cf. *animo ducebam*), a transitive as it were to *mihi cordi est*, 'I have at heart'. The posterius *-νει-ς* (*-νει*) may = IE. *nēisi* (§ 6 a; AJPh. 25, 387). Analogy apart, the preterit, *μενέην-μεν* may = instrum. *menes-ē*<sup>2</sup> + impf. \**e-nāmen*. By combin-

<sup>1</sup>-ωντ- for "open" -οντ- according to Hermann, KZ. 46, 2-49.

<sup>2</sup>This ending (cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. 194 anm.) can hardly be anything but IE. *ē* | *ō* 'unmittelbar an, bei' (*ib.* p. 817), already glimpsed by Brugmann (Gr. 2. 2. § 185. 3) as a locative ending. English *by* has developed the function of the agent and instrument. The old prejudice in favor of *-α* as the instrumental ending was due to *πεδά* (see Cl. Qt. 8, 50, 52') = *μετά*, whose *-ά* is a nominative ending, as in Lat. *-cola* (TAPA. 44, 119).—It is the *-ο* | *-ε* of this instrumental (sociative) that functions as a "connecting vowel" in compounds (survivals, not innovations) such as Goth. *brōpr-a-lubō* (with brother love) etc.; interpret *δακρυ-ό-φι* *δακρυ-ό-εις* by TAPA. 44, 107 sq. (§§ 1, 27). See also § 28.

ing *μενέηναι* with aor. 1st sg. *μενέηνα* [analogy form after *ἴηνα/ἴᾱνα* (*ān-* <-ανσ-)] we obtain a beautiful start for *ā* as a quasi connecting vowel for the sigmatic aorist. Or is *-ηνα* *-āna* the proper compensative lengthening for *-αι-νσα* (*-v[ə]sm:* *√nēy :: Skr. á-di-ṣ-i: √dā*)?—**b.** Like *μενεαί-νω* is *βλεμεαίνει*, if = 'superbit' (<se in *superbiam ducit*), cf. *es* stem of *ἀ-βλεμής*. A root *d(e)lem-* (on *βλ-* <*dl-*, see TAPA, Spec. Sess. 1894, p. ix) 'superbire' may be justified to some degree by *del(e)p-* in Skr. *drpyāti* 'superbit' (*p:m* as in Lat. *trepidus: tremit*). But if *βλεμεαίνων* = 'glaring' (so Liddell and Scott) *βλεμες-* belongs with *τὸ βλέμος*.

### C. On the *-d/-dh* root extensions.

22 a. *The Latin gerundials* constitute a mere aspect of the composita found in the *-δω/-θω* extensions of shorter roots. Observe the pairs (*ap*)*standus*<sup>1</sup>: Germ. *standen*; *ciendus* 'movendus': *μετα-κιά-θω* 'sequor'; *-bundus*: OBulg. *bǫ-dǫ* 'ero, werde'. The primate *sthām-dh-* contains an acc. infinitive = Skr. *sthām*, and the complex = 'to do a standing' ('do [to] stand'). In *ciendus*, etc., *cien-*: *κιά-* = IE. *kiym*, acc. of *κῑ-* in *κίω κῑ-νέω* (*-νεω* as in *ἀγῑ-νέω*, § 20), and the whole = 'to do a moving' ('do move'). In *-bundus*: *bǫ-dǫ* the prius is IE. *bhṽom* or *bhūm*, and the whole = 'do become'.

23. *Syntax of Lat. gerundive*: *mihi eundum est* = 'I have a going-do', as Lane almost divined (Lat. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, § 2243), and the necessitarian sense is contextual only, that is to say lies in the dative. Words like *secundus* are formatively like Skr. *dhiyam-dhā-* 'precem faciens'. Note the comparative richness of the *-om* infinitives in the Italic dialects (von Planta, Gr., § 333). *Sequendus* is of the type of Skr. infin. *dhiyá-dhyāi*, cf. *θιάσος* < \**dhiym-dhyo-s* (*θιάσαι* 'χορεῦσαι, like Skr. *dhiyá-dhyāi*), but Lacon. *σιάδες* (*a* in both <*m*, as Prellwitz correctly saw, BB 22, 283) has *d* (§ 24).

24. The posteriora in the Italic gerundials may be subsumed, quantity apart, in the Vedic pair *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giving': *ātma-dās-* 'soul-giving', or in *rayi-dā-*: *ratna-dhā*. In the dialects, Umbr. *anferener*<sup>2</sup> apart, only *-do-* is attested,

<sup>1</sup> *a. amor* (Plautus) = Love must be stood off (transitive, as *standen* is transitive).

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of palaeography ANFEREN <F>ER is an easy correction; or the second *nf* might be reduced to *n* by teleheterosis.

cf.  $\delta$  in *σιάδες* and *φυγάδες* (Prellwitz, l. c.), a type recognized as gerundial by Lebreton (Mém. Soc. Ling. II, 145 sq.), otherwise, all the dialect examples are, or may be, irradiations from the "*operandus*" type, which may be purely Italic, as *operandus* comes from *operam dare* (rebus divinis, Cicero, Leg. 2. 26). For *operam dare* with accusative see Bennett, Syntax ii, § 260.

25. *Statistic of "operandus"*: *úpsanno-* 'operando-' 7°; *piano-* (§ 15 g) 'piando-' 4°; *sacranno-* 'sacrando-' 2°—13 instances of one and the same idea.<sup>1</sup> Of other ritual verbs of the first conjugation, sense unknown, there remain *pelsano-* 5°; (*v*)*eehiano-* 2°. Lastly, Umbr. *anferener* occurs as follows: <"sacra omnia"> popler anferener<sup>2</sup> et ocrer pihaner = populi circumferendi et arcis piandi.

26. *Proof of dh*:—Lat. *standus*: Germ. *standen*, *ciendus*: μετεκίθαε (*i* is either metric  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ , or like *i* in Skr. *padavīyam*, § 15 h). *Proof of d*: *operandus*; of *dh/d* θίασος: σιάδες. Lindsay's explanation of the gerundials (LL., p. 544, § 95) would have gone better had he used *operam-dus* for his example, instead of *\*laudam-dus*, etc.; and the choice of Skr. *sthām* instead of Av. *dqm* (for *dan-dus*) might have led him to see the formal identity, excep. excip., between *standus* and Germ. *standen*.

27. *Case-relations of the priora*. In *standus* the prius is an infinitive of accusative form; in *operandus* the accusative of an action noun; in *ciendus* (: μετεκίθαε)<sup>3</sup> again an accusa-

<sup>1</sup> The sense of *úpsanno-* was generalized from 'operando-' to 'faciendo-', along the easy transition afforded by the equality of the idea of *faciendo-* with the idea of *sacrificando-*.

<sup>2</sup> As IE. *-ndh-* alternated with *-nd-* we need not here raise the question whether *-n(n)-* came from *-ndh-*, but neither *-nf-<-ndh-* nor any analogon is certified by the dialects save in Osc. *anafriss*, where the conditions of Lat. *inferi inferiae* etc. (apparent recomposition) obtain (see TAPA. 29, 19).

<sup>3</sup> *Statistic of some Greek verbs in -άθειν* (or *-αθεῖν*, see Veitch's catalogue s. vv.): Hom. *ἔφργα-α-θε* 'twisted off, cut off; shut out'; in the dramatists: *εἰκαθεῖν* 'to yield' (i. e. do a yielding), *διωκαθεῖν* 'to pursue'; *ἀμυναθεῖν* 'to defend'; and particularly *ἀλκ-α-θεῖν* 'to ward off', with *ἀλκ-α-* (acc.) matching *ἀλκ-ι* (loc.): *ἀλκή*. Hesychius adds *κατ-ε-κίαθεν* 'κατεκοιμήθη', in gradation with Skr. *śayá-dhyāi* 'to lay', cf. Av. gen.-abl. infin. *xšayō* 'to destroy', but *xš(i)yō* 'perniciēi' (: *xšim* 'perniciem').

tive (cf. Skr. infin. *pra-míy-am* 'to neglect'), as in Skr. *dhiyá-dhyāi* 'to deposit' (in which *dhyāi* was once an independent infinitive, like Av. *dyāi*; see tmesis with *dyāt* in § 28). For the propriety of the accusative relation note Bartholomae's renderings of Skr. *bhāradhyāi* 'tragung zu machen', *sāhadhyāi* 'bewältigung zu machen', *ṣayādhyāi* 'liegen zu machen', Av. *vazadyāi* 'fährt zu machen' (cited in TAPA, 29, 13). I take Av. *varən-dyāi* to contain *n* < *m* (acc. \**vr-m*, a more allegro form than the flexion type of Skr. *gīram*: nom. *gār*); but *ir-á-dhyāi* (in *krāñā i.* = potentes adipiscendi) has a prius \**rrm* (like *gīram* < \**grram*) belonging with the root of *ἀρρῶμαι* (cf. on *ἀρρ-στος*, § 4 c').

28. But the dative-locative relation is also attested and, in Avestan, with relative fulness: *θrāyōi-dyāi* 'protegere' (*θrāyōi*: √*trā(y)*- :: *dāvōi*: √*dā(w)*-); *o*-stem locative priora in *srāvayei-dyāi* 'to cause to hear'; *āfyei-dyāi* 'curare' (-*fyei*: Lat. *pīus*, § 15 g); *varəzyei-dyāi* 'zu wirken, zu thun' (cf. the *es* stem *varəzyah-* 'wirken, thun', which governs the accusative and corresponds, in its locative *varəz-yah(i)*, to the Latin infinitives in *-ier*,<sup>1</sup> Bull., § 94; neut. *varəz-ya-m* 'wirken, arbeit'). The genesis of these infinitive combinations in *-dyāi* (but Av. *dyāi* is also a simplex) is made clear-as-day<sup>2</sup> by the Gāthic combination *varəz-ī* (loc. infin.) *nā dyāt* = "zur wirksamkeit uns verhele". So in Av. *srūi-dyāi* 'audire' *sūi-dyāi* 'zu nutzen' we are quite justified in finding the locative priora *srū-* and *sū-* (cf. on *camñ*, § 19); and continuants of IE. *nēi* and *snāi* (infinitives like *parā-dāi*, § 7 c) in the priora of *vr̥-θei* 'spins', Av. *snā-daiti* 'lavit'. In *vr̥m-é-θvorto vr̥m* may be a suffixless locative (Bull., § 38), followed by augmented *é-θvorto*; unless *vr̥m-ε-* (like *τῆλ-ε*; cf. *ὀψέ*: *ὀψι-*) is a locative-instrumental in *-e* (§ 22, c'), of the type of OBulg. *kamen-e*, etc. (Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. § 185, 3 a). This *-e/o* case, undifferentiated (and not mixed<sup>3</sup>) as between instrumental and locative, is found in Skr. *div-á-kṣas-* = *div-i-kṣít-*

<sup>1</sup> Latin *fieri* is from a dative of a verbal noun of the type of Skr. *bhi-yās-* (: √*bhēy*).

<sup>2</sup> Be it said in passing that this locution (cf. Lat. *sub divo*) probably foots on Indo-European.

<sup>3</sup> Convergence by phonetic decay excluded, so far as cases can be called mixed it is in consequence of imitation of the more original lack of differentiation.



'in caelo habitans' (*div-á* = advb. *divā́/dívā́*); cf. *κερα-ο-ξόος* "worker in horn" (graver on horn) and *ἀσπιδ-ό-δουπος* 'clupeo-crepitans'; *ἀσπιδ-ο-φέρμων* 'living-by-shield'. [Fick, Eigenn.<sup>2</sup>, p. 53, explains 'Αλκε- in Greek names as an instrumental.]

29. *The flexional type of fundit and -bundus.* Algebraic analysis has satisfied itself in the past by deriving OBulg. *bq-dq* 'ero' (Berneker, Wbch. s. v.) from *bhŭ<n>-d-* or *bhŭo<n>-d-*, calling *n* the infixed nasal (formant!) and *d* a formant (admittedly from the root *dhē* or *dō*); and has never come to a reckoning à *outrance* with this ubiquitous *n* (§ 17<sup>2</sup>). To define *fundit* as 'pouring does' ought, however, to be enough to satisfy anyone that *fun-* is IE. acc. *\*ǵhwo-m* (: *√ǵhu-* :: Skr. *á-bhva-m*: *√bhū*), not *\*ǵhŭ-m* (type of Av. *xšnūm* 'πλῆρωμα, completio', § 4, *d*<sup>2</sup>), because of *f-* < *ǵhw-*. In pf. *fū-dit* (for *\*hū-dit*) *fū-* (with *f* after the present—and this may be one source for the *f/h* variation in Latin) is a locative like *srū-* in *srūi-dyāi* (§ 28), and the whole = I did [to] pour. Similarly in Lat. *fin-d-it* 'splits' *fin-* is from *\*bhim* (: OBulg. *biti* 'caedere'<sup>1</sup>), fashioned like Av. *xšim* 'perniciem', + *-d-/-dh-* 'dare, facere'.<sup>2</sup> The root being a long vowel root, in the perfect *fī-dit* *fī* will be a dative-locative < *bhāi* (cf. on *λοι-σθος*, § 4 b). The participles *fū-sus* *fī-ssus* (prius < *bh-í-*, § 7 c) will contain in -(s)os the correspondent of Skr. *-ta-*, ptc. to *√dā*.

[29 a. I have but lately come to understand the flexional significance of OBulg. *dajq* 'do' (infin. *dajati* 'dare') and to realize that it entitles us to operate, in composition, with IE. *dyéti* 'dat' (cf. Skr. *dyāti* 'δίδησι'). In *scin-dit*, as in *fin-dit*, the prius is an accusative. In *σχί-ζω* (*-ζω* < *dyō*) the prius is a locative to a root noun *skhē(y)-*, and the complex meant something like 'in scissuram do', cf. Lat. *in fugam dare* 'fugare' (causalis to *fugere*) and *in conspectum dare*, causalis to 'conspicere'.]

<sup>1</sup> On the restriction of *findit* to 'splits' see AJPh. 32, 407<sup>2</sup>; MLN. 22, 38<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> One must remind oneself of the grouping of Lat. *do* with actual nouns, e. g. *motūs dare* (= 'movere' in Lucr. 1, 819, but = 'se movere, moveri', ib. 2. 311); *ruinas-*, *stragem-* etc.; *consilium dare* = *consiliari* (Horace). Copious examples of action noun objects with *facio* in Thes. LL. VI, 92 sq., e. g. *crepitum facere*, ib. 98, 13.

30. *The Greek aorist in -θην* (ptc. -θείς, note accent). Exclusive of ἐ-γνώ-σθης (-σθ- < *sth*, Bull., § 81) and perhaps a few more like it, the -θην aorists are simply tenses belonging to the *fu-n-dit* flexion type, χυ-θείς being equivalent, except, to *fū-dit*. In ἐ-κλίνθη 'he did lean' (Γ 360) κλι- is accusative like Av. *xšim* 'perniciem'; in ἐ-κλί-θη 'did turn' (τ 470), κλ-ι<sup>1</sup> is a locative as in § 7 c. From the analogy of ptc. κλιτός (Skr. *critā-s*): κλι-θείς, pairs like χυτός: χυθείς were begotten, cf. ἀμφ-ε-χύθη (δ 716) 'did fall' (= *fundebatur*). In A 200 note ὅσσε φάανθεν<sup>2</sup> 'eyes did glow' (φααν < *bhāyā-m* 'splendorem' formed like Skr. *dayā* 'misericordia' (also cf. *ācīr-dāyā-*), a feminine to the type of Skr. n. *bhayā-m* 'pavor' (masc.). See on κρᾶ-αν-, § 15 b.

31. *Other complexes with dhē-*. In *μαν-θάνω* the prius is from lento *mñn[i]*, as in § 7 b; but in *μαθεῖν* from allegro *mñ[i]*-. An Indo-Iranian "suffixless" locative *man-*, (i. e. *mñn*) is found in Skr. *man-dhātār-* and, in tmesi, in Av. *mən . . dadē* 'I have put in mind' (for the form cf. Gāthic *azəm* = Skr. *ahām* 'ego'). In Lithuanian, the causatives like *ly-dinu* 'pluere facio' contain an infinitive prius *ly-*, etc. (§ 20 d) + *-dinu* = *-θανω* (but in *-dinu i* may be the most reduced form of a case in *-ā̃y*, § 7<sup>1</sup>; *ə* in *-θανω* of *-ā̃\*[y]*). The syntax of the combination reminds of Lat. *marcescere facit* (Thes. LL. VI, 115, 6).

22a. *Postscript*.—The *do-* conjugation is found in Indo-Iranian. See exx. ap. Bartholomae, BB. 15, 237 and Jackson's renderings, Av. Gram. § 724, 4, Av. *-ricya* is a loc. infin. *ric-i* + *ē* as explained in § 22<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>The root is certified as *kēy* by *i*-forms like κλίμαξ κλίνη; and Skr. *grāya-* is from *kēye-*. We have a dissyllabic *kōlēy-* in Lat. *colīna* 'kitchen' (i. e. in our parlance a 'lean-to, shed'): *čālā-* (long-grade *ā*) 'hut, stall'. Note the rhyming pair *kēy* (in *κεῖται* 'lies') and *lēy* (§ 4 b) in Skr. *pra-lāyana-m* 'lagerstätte'; *nīlaya-* 'lager', *nī-lāyana-m* 'das sich niederlassen auf'.

<sup>2</sup>But forms like *μάνθησαν* are perhaps from *μά-ν[ə]θησαν* (*νə-θῆ-: Vñēy*: *στα-θείς*: *Vsthā*; on *ə* see § 31); at all events, in *ἀμύαντος μαν[ə]τος* suggests 'ad-pollutionem ductus' (cf. § 15 h).